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### A SURVEY OF WORK ON ARISTOTLE'S POETICS, 1940-1954

#### 1. General: *Berichte*

Within the arbitrary limit set for this survey I have attempted reasonable completeness for all work dealing directly with the *Poetics*, including the usual sources for the time since the last volume of *L'Année Philologique* (XXIII: bibliography of the year 1952; published 1954), but not for current critical discussion of Aristotelian concepts (some selected items are given below under 7, "Influence"). Moreover, the *Poetics* is a work which is likely to creep into the discussion of literature at any level and for any period, among those who do and those who do not claim the sacred title of classical scholar. Undoubtedly I have missed much, and can only crave the reader's indulgence therefor.

The period is not marked by any major new edition or work of the first magnitude, unless it be that of Montmollin. A certain slackening off is observable, compared with the decades which brought the editions of Bywater, Rostagni, Gudeman, and Sykutris, the monumental study of Tkatsch on the Arabic version, and the Cooper-Gudeman bibliography, to mention only a few works of outstanding importance.

In this century, in spite of the labors of good Aristotelians like Bywater, the editing and interpretation of the *Poetics* has gone on in relative isolation from the general body of Aristotelian

studies—probably to its detriment, although the circumstance has also tended to forestall hasty or unconsidered encroachments of general theories, chronological, philosophical, or otherwise, into a very difficult field. I believe it can safely be said that in spite of the centuries of labor and oceans of paper which have been lavished on the *Poetics*, not enough has been done even yet for the detailed interpretation of Aristotle's argument: the kind of painstaking exegesis which Gigon calls for over the whole span of Aristotle's works.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the *Poetics* is still relatively neglected in general books like Louis Robin's *Aristote* (Paris 1944), and in the work of scholars like Ingemar Düring or F. C. Nuyens (*L'évolution de la psychologie d'A.*, Louvain 1948), who have been carrying forward the line of study initiated by Jaeger.

There has been no general *Bericht* on Aristotle for a generation.<sup>2</sup> A useful survey of some important recent works is given by H. D. Safrey, *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 34 (1950) 521-550. (Malheureusement, the only item cited for the *Poetics* is the useless edition of Voilquin and Capelle; see below under 2). For tragedy and the theory of tragedy the reader may wish to bear in mind Albin Lesky's

1. Olof Gigon, *Mus. Helv.* 9 (1952) 113.

2. The last one in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, and the only one in this century, was by Paul Gohlke, 216 (1928) 65-110 and 220 (1929) 265-328. Pp. 323-328 of the latter dealt with the *Poetics*, citing 2 books and 5 articles!

continuing *Forschungsberichte* in the *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7, especially 1 (1948) 65-68 ("Ursprungsfrage") and 3 (1950) 195-218 ("1. Fortsetzung"). Greekless students should perhaps be warned that Troy Organ's *An Index to Aristotle* (Princeton 1949), in English, is often misleading unless corrected by reference to the original.

The divisions in the following report are purely pragmatic and approximate. A view on catharsis, for example, is likely to erupt in almost any general discussion of the *Poetics*; and conversely, notes on particular questions or passages may be potentially of broad interest.

### 2. Editions and Translations

It was said above that no new major edition has appeared. But Augusto Rostagni's second edition (Turin 1945) is so completely reworked in every part except the Introduction as perhaps to deserve the epithet 'new.' The select Bibliography has been brought up to date, the *Appendix Critica* corrected, enlarged, and set in its proper place under the text as an *apparatus criticus*, and the commentary to a large extent rewritten. Rostagni's notes remain subtle—occasionally over-subtle—and addressed to the understanding of the text rather than to a miscellaneous display of learning. They fall short at times of the inwardness of Sykutris at his best, but surpass Gudeman's in every respect except voluminousness. All considered, Rostagni's is distinctly the best and most useful edition we have.

Montmollin's book (see below under 4) offers in an appendix (pp. 213-266) a Greek text and critical notes: the newest text, therefore, and one that is based on independent study of the textual problem. In the large its value is impaired by Montmollin's blanket use of parentheses (to indicate subsequent additions to the text by Aristotle; M. will not admit the existence of parentheses in the usual sense), which often breaks or distorts the sequence of Aristotle's argument; but in detail it is careful and conservative, especially as regards the Arabic version. (Rostagni has also maintained his conservative attitude towards the sweeping claims of Tkatsch and Gudeman.)

3. Asterisks denote works not seen by me. I have likewise not seen *La Poetica* by Valgimigli\* (Padua 1944; translation only?); and the German translation by Gigon\* (A. Werke, 2: *Vom Himmel. Von der Seele. Von der Dichtkunst*; Zurich 1950).

A reprint of the fourth edition of Butcher's text, translation, and essays (*Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*), with an introduction by John Gassner, has been published by Dover (New York 1951). The Butcher translation, together with selections from Book 8 of the *Politics*, and with an introduction by Milton C. Nahm, was reprinted in cheap, paper-bound form by the Liberal Arts Press under the title *Aristotle on Poetry and Music* (New York 1948). Lane Cooper's "amplified version with supplementary illustrations" has appeared in a revised edition (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947), and Manara Valgimigli's valuable Italian translation and notes in a fourth (?) edition\* (Bari 1946).<sup>3</sup>

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Bywater's translation, slightly altered in a few places and provided with an introduction and summaries by W. Hamilton Fyfe, was reprinted by the Clarendon Press (Oxford 1940). Bywater's text, which unfortunately is now outdated, is the basis of the workmanlike paper-bound translation by Preston H. Epps (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942); Gudeman's furnishes the basis for that by Allan H. Gilbert in his *Literary Criticism, Plato to Dryden* (New York 1940). The version by Seymour M. Pitcher, published originally by the State University of Iowa in mimeograph, 1942 and 1949, and in considerably revised and smoother form in the *Journal of General Education* 7 (1952-53) 56-76, is eclectic in its text and careful in its renderings.

The newest and in many ways the best version of the *Poetics* in English for the general student, by L. J. Potts, *A. on the Art of Fiction* (Cambridge 1952), is based on Bywater, but with revisions. The introduction is especially good on Aristotle's influence; the translation is vigorous and readable; and the notes are to the point, though sometimes slightly wilful.

The "edition" by (J. Voilquin-) J. Capelle (together with the *Rhetoric*, in the *Classiques Garnier*; Paris 1944) is a mere conflation of nineteenth-century texts with Hardy (Budé; Paris 1932). That by J. D. García Bacca (Mexico: Univ. Nac. Auton. de Mex., 1946) is a reprint of Hardy's text, with translation and notes based mainly on the same source; the "philosophical introduction" is original. Finally, there are texts with translations into Persian, by Sohail Afnan\* (London 1948), and Portuguese, by E. di Sousa\* (Lisbon 1951).

One can only deplore the tendency of translations of the *Poetics* to lag a generation or more behind the best available texts. Of the translators cited here, only Pitcher, to my knowledge, has studied all the best editions, including those of Sykutris and Rostagni, and formed a text which is really his own.

### 3. Contributions to the Text

Nicola Festa reported the results of a careful recollation of B (Riccardianus 46) in "Note al testo della Poetica di A.," *Bollettino del Comitato per la prep. dell' ediz. nazionale dei classici gr. e lat.*, 1940 (suppl. to *Rendiconti . . . della R. Accad. d' Italia* 7. 1) 1-39. The work was used by Rostagni in his second edition.

An even more important event is the definitive publication of the medieval Latin transla-

tion of the *Poetics*: *Aristoteles Latinus (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi)*, XXXIII, *De Arte Poetica Guillelmo de Moerbeke interprete*, edd. Erse Valgimigli (†), Ezio Franceschini, and Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (Bruges-Paris 1953), which replaces earlier partial publications by E. Lobel ("The Medieval Latin Poetics," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 17 [1931] 309-334) and Franceschini ("La 'Poetica' di A. nel secolo XIII," *Atti del R. Ist. Veneto* 94 [1935] 523-548). The new work gives, besides a definitive text, a description of the two MSS (Etonensis 129 and Toletanus 47, 10), a detailed characterization of William's translation, valuable summaries of the evidence for the relation of Φ (his Greek MS) to our other text-sources, and (p. xv) a tentative *stemma* of the entire MS tradition of the *Poetics*. The date of completion of the translation is now established as 1 March 1278.

Proposed emendations of particular passages are reported below under 6.

### 4. General Discussions of the *Poetics*

The most ambitious reappraisal of Aristotle's treatise during the period under review is that of Daniel de Montmollin, *La Poétique d'A.: Texte primitif et additions ultérieures* (Neuchâtel 1951).<sup>4</sup> Montmollin challenges the prevailing view of the text by reviving, but on a broader scale, a nineteenth-century idea (Hermann, Christ) that the *Poetics* contains a number of additions made by Aristotle himself and subsequently incorporated into the text—sometimes faultily—by a redactor. In his first two chapters, by close grammatical analysis, M. uncovers a considerable mass of such additions, ranging all the way from short phrases to whole chapters (see the synoptic table opposite p. 166). Although admitting the possibility that they may belong to various periods of Aristotle's life, the author operates practically on the assumption that they stem from a single, distinctive 'late'

4. It goes without saying that the brief notices given here even of major works like Montmollin's cannot be complete or properly balanced.

Professor Else's paper is the seventh in the series of surveys of recent classical scholarship announced in CW 46 (1952-53) 261; see further CW 47 (1953-54) 209, and, in the current volume (pp. 41 ff.), Professor Agnes K. Michels' report on "Early Roman Religion, 1945-1952." Professor Else is currently engaged on a book-length study of Aristotle's *Poetics*: *The Argument*.—Ed.

stage in which theoretical concerns had been replaced by archival, 'documentary' interests.

The idea of "additions ultérieures" is not only unobjectionable but highly promising as one approach to problems of interpretation which are often ignored or glossed over. And Montmollin's grammatical analyses are admirably keen. But he overworks the method as a panacea for all problems, refusing to entertain the equally possible idea that some of the "later additions" may in fact be interpolations, and above all giving too little attention to the general course and content of Aristotle's argument. Hence many of the conclusions he reaches as to the major themes of the *Poetics* and their chronological relationships must remain suspect; and the same is true of many of the views put forward in his third chapter, on the character of the *Poetics* and its relation to Aristotle's other writings on literature. Nevertheless, as the comparative length of this notice is intended to suggest, M.'s book is an important contribution and will be indispensable to anyone who proposes to make a serious analysis of the text.

A Zurich dissertation by Max K. Lienhard, *Zur Entstehung und Geschichte von A.' Poetik* (Zurich 1950), also argues for the existence of two distinct strata in the *Poetics*, but in a wholly different sense. Beginning with the four 'kinds' of tragedy in chapter 18, it develops an unfortunate idea of Lienhard's teacher, Ernst Howald (see *Philol.* 76 [1920] 215-222), that the original draft of the *Poetics* was concerned only with the emotional effect of tragedy, the theory of the *mythos* being a later development. A hasty and superficial piece of work, Lienhard's book contrasts very unfavorably with that of Montmollin (the latter deals it some telling blows in a postscript, pp. 371-374).

A modest little publication from a wholly different quarter offers a refreshing contrast. M. M. Sharif, *Three Lectures on the Nature of Tragedy* (Lahore 1948), examines the virtues and limitations of Aristotle's doctrine, including catharsis, without much scholarly apparatus but with good sense and a pleasing originality and independence of mind. If such reflections—and such topics!—are representative of the intellectual bill of fare in the universities of Pakistan, our colleagues across the world are to be congratulated.

L. A. Post devotes the last chapter ("A. and the Philosophy of Fiction") of his *From Homer to Menander: Forces in Greek Poetic Fiction*

(*Sather Classical Lectures, XXIII*; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951) to the *Poetics*. Like Potts (see above under 2), Post approaches the subject from the angle of 'fiction', and this brings some stimulating *aperçus*, as on Aristotle's failure to distinguish between two kinds of action, that which is performed by the characters themselves and that which is outside their control, and on his comparative neglect of psychological factors in the drama. Post also offers (pp. 263-267) an interpretation of catharsis which has much in common with that of Papanoutsos (see below under 5a).

W. C. Greene, "The Greek Criticism of Poetry: A Reconsideration," in *Perspectives of Criticism*, ed. H. A. Levin (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 34-45, surveys in broad and balanced terms the main points of Aristotle's doctrine, with judicious remarks on its omissions and insufficiencies. (This and the two preceding discussions have in common a searching though not unsympathetic appraisal of Aristotle's limitations.) To Greene's comments on the inapplicability of the *hamartia*-concept (I would say: as it is usually understood) to Sophocles, add C. H. Whitman, *Sophocles: A Study of Heroic Humanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) 22-41. Prof. Green's *Moira: Fate, Good, and Evil in Greek Thought* (Cambridge 1944) also deals with the *Poetics*, on pp. 92-97; and see the Index, s. v. Aristotle.

A. Armstrong, "A.'s Theory of Poetry," *Greece and Rome* 10 (1940-41) 120-125, suggests that A.'s doctrine belongs to the pre-history rather than the history of aesthetics. E. G. Ballard, "The Subject of A.'s Poetics," *The Personalist* 32 (1951) 391-397, is negligible. Finally, I cannot resist mentioning that Dorothy Sayers' witty and perceptive lecture, "A. on Detective Fiction," delivered at Oxford in 1935, has been reprinted in *Unpopular Opinions* (New York 1947), pp. 222-236, and has implications that reach well beyond its title.

For further discussions of a general nature, or having general implications, see below under 7. "Influence."

##### 5. Particular Aristotelian Concepts

###### a. Catharsis

The flood of dissertations, articles, reviews, etc., on catharsis has somewhat abated. But the topic still looms large, and few scholars or critics have the temerity to put forward an interpretation of Aristotle's critical thought

without taking some position on catharsis. The resumé which follows is limited to special treatments of the question, including some which the reader might otherwise not come across.

Officially, the 'purgation' theory of Weil and Bernays continues to dominate the scene. But signs of dissatisfaction still manifest themselves, either in the form of criticisms of the irrelevance and inadequacy of the idea or in the form of attempts to interpret catharsis in a more aesthetic or philosophical sense. However, the attempts are scattered in all directions and none of them can be considered entirely satisfactory; certainly none has gained wide acceptance or effectively dethroned Weil-Bernays.

Franz Dirlmeier, "Katharsis Pathématône," *Hermes* 75 (1940) 81-92, devotes his attention primarily to the construction of the genitive *tōn toiotōn pathématōn*. From an analysis of *Politics* 8, and from a hitherto neglected fragment of Theophrastus (fr. 89 Wimmer), he considers it proved beyond any doubt that it is a separative genitive (release *from* such passions). He is also sure that all the feelings are involved, not merely pity and fear. Max Kommerell, *Les sing und A.* (see below under 7) 57-78 and esp. 262-272, urges the same view of the construction and sees catharsis as the *energeia* which brings to realization the *dynamis* of tragedy: in short, as its *telos*. Rudolf Schottlaender, "Eine Fessel der Tragödiendeutung," *Hermes* 81 (1953) 22-29, considers the construction unimportant but lays great stress on the thesis that the purgation, or purification, is worked *by* pity and fear but upon a much broader range of passions (e.g., fraternal hatred, jealousy, love), according to the subject of the play.

The desire to rescue catharsis from the charge of narrowness is evident also in W. Vollgraff, *L'Oraison Funèbre de Gorgias* (Leiden 1952) 144-152. V. interprets *tōn toiotōn pathématōn* still more broadly and vaguely—and implausibly—as "certain affections of the soul," namely those which are aroused by each play in turn. The theatre provides a harmless outlet for a wide range of passions, which Aristotle, unlike Plato, considered natural and fundamentally ineradicable.

Louis Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs* (Paris 1952) 410-419, in an older-fashioned and more eclectic vein, interprets catharsis as a calming and regulating of the emotions through a harmony which comes from without, yet is akin to the soul—a process which resembles but is not identical with those

involved in certain religious lustrations and also (!) those involved in certain purgations of the body.

E. P. Papanoutsos, "La catharsis aristotélique," *Eranos* 46 (1948) 77-93, and more fully in *La catharsis des passions d'après A. (Coll. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Athènes, LXXI)* (Athens 1953), makes an interesting attempt to combine the purgation theory with an aesthetic and philosophical interpretation.<sup>5</sup> He, like Moulinier, regards catharsis as the establishment of a reasonable and measured emotion (quite unlike the pity and fear of real life). But the result is brought about by the artistic management and organization of the poet's work, the *mythos*, which brings home to us the "universal (principle) that governs the life and the fate of man." Thus the effect is not automatic; it is a function of the poet's art and philosophical grasp, an aesthetic and at the same time an ideological achievement. As Papanoutsos himself says in a supplementary note at the end of his book, his interpretation has a great deal of similarity to that of Butcher, and also to that of M. T. Cardini (see below).

Barry D. Karl, in an unpublished Chicago M. A. thesis (1951), offers a still more determined aesthetic approach. Entitled *Pleasure and Plot in A.'s Theory of Tragedy*, the work argues that pity and fear figure in Aristotle's doctrine not as emotions in the spectator but as "kinds of arrangements and kinds of incidents," i.e., as elements of tragic *form*. The catharsis is then a purification of these incidents so as to produce the tragic pleasure. Somewhat similar is the view of Maria T. Cardini, "Physis e techné in A.," in *Studi di filosofia greca* (Bari 1950), 298-305. The primary catharsis is that worked by the poet upon the tragic material, which is the passions of men; these are represented by him in their essence or permanently valid form and enjoyed as such by the spectator, who thus experiences a secondary, passive catharsis.

There are some parallels in the essay of K. H. Volkmann-Schluck, "Die Lehre von der Katharsis in der Poet. d. A.," *Varia Variorum (Festgabe K. Reinhardt)* (Münster-Cologne 1952) 104-117. Catharsis is not merely an effect, but belongs to the essence of tragedy: it denotes the pure essence of fear and pity inherent in the

5. It has affinities with that of L. A. Post (see above under 4), and in another way with mine in "A. on the Beauty of Tragedy," *HSCP* 49 (1938) 179-204.

situation of man vis-à-vis an all-encompassing, ineluctable danger which threatens his very being.

Three other interpretations of catharsis seem to me eccentric or otherwise negligible: Anna Tumarkin, "Die Kunstrehe von A. im Rahmen seiner Philosophie," *Mus. Helv.* 2 (1945) 108-122 (catharsis represents the victory of faith in an ultimate Justice, behind the workings of Fate); A. Nicev\*,<sup>6</sup> "La tragédie attique d'après les règles d'A.," *Annuaire de l'Univ. de Sofia, Fac. hist.-philos.*, 45 (1948-49) 4, 154 pp. (pity for the apparently innocent hero, e.g., Oedipus, and fear of the apparently arbitrary and hostile gods are relieved when his guilt is finally revealed); and M. D. Petrushevski\*, "La définition de la tragédie chez A. et la catharsis," *Annuaire de la Fac. de Philos. de Skoplje* 1 (1948) 1-17 (for *pathēmatōn katharsin* read *pragmatōn systasin*. See also Reeves, under 5c below.

#### b. *Imitation*

'Imitation' appears to have less glamor than catharsis. One major essay has appeared. Heinrich Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike (Dissertationes Bernenses*, ser. 1, fasc. 5; Bern 1954), argues on a broad scale that the original idea of *mimēsis* was not 'imitation' but 'Darstellung, Ausdruck', i.e., the expression of a character (the 'miming' of a part) in song and dance. The first theoretical development of the concept was due to the Pythagoreans; it was carried forward by Damon and Plato and still appears clearly in *Republic* 3, whereas in *Republic* 10 it is overlaid and displaced by a different idea, that of 'imitation'. In the *Poetics* Koller finds (see esp. pp. 104-118) the old idea peering through everywhere, but in conflict with the new: Aristotle is trying to adapt what was originally an orcheistic-musical concept to fit a general theory of poetry, including the epic. Koller's thesis as to the early development seems plausible, on the whole, but it must be said that his application of it to the *Poetics* leads in some cases to wrenching and misinterpretation.

Richard McKeon's useful essay, "Literary Criticism and the Concept of Imitation in Antiquity," originally published in *Mod. Philol.* 34 (1936-37) 1-35, has been reprinted in *Critics and Criticism* (see below under 7) 147-175; Aristotle is treated on pp. 160-168. See also below, under 7, for the works of Burke and Fergusson, which

once more give 'imitation' a central place in the theory of literature.

#### c. *Hamartia*

The old *hamartia* controversy ('moral flaw' or 'intellectual error?') was given a new fillip by S. M. Pitcher, "A.'s Good and Just Heroes," *PQ* 24 (1945) 1-11 and 190-191, which argued that Aristotle requires the tragic hero to be good, though not perfect, and that his *hamartia* is ignorance of particular facts, not a moral failing. Philip W. Harsh countered with "Hamartia Again," *TAPA* 76 (1945) 47-58, which concluded on the basis of a rich collection of examples, from tragedy itself and Plato as well as Aristotle, that in the *Poetics* the word connotes "some degree of culpability" (a cautious formulation, be it noted). Lane Cooper concurred in "Hamartia Again" — and Again," *CJ* 43 (1947-48) 39-40, referring to analyses made by three of Cooper's graduate students. See also above, under 4, the references to Greene and Whitman.

I. M. Glanville, "Tragic Error," *CQ* 43 (1949) 447-56, an important article, although I believe its conclusion is mistaken, explains the apparent inconsistency between *Poetics* 13. 53a12-17<sup>7</sup> and 14. 54a4-9 as to the best type of tragic action by a change in Aristotle's thinking about 'involuntary action' which is reflected in the *Eudemian* and the *Nichomachean Ethics* respectively. In the former (cf. *Poet.* c. 13) actions caused by certain passions, e.g., love, are pardonable and pitiable; in the latter (cf. *Poet.* c. 14) only acts performed in ignorance of particular facts are so. Human error is ultimately a function of the divine will, which works its ends through it.

Another article may perhaps be attached here. C. H. Reeves, "The Aristotelian Concept of the Tragic Hero," *AJP* 73 (1952) 172-188, cites the evidence for *epieikēs=chrēstos*. The hero must be good and the plot moral; but this moral structure is subsumed under an aesthetic purpose. Reeves also offers an interpretation of catharsis.

#### d. *Poetry and History*

A. D. Gomme, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History (Sather Classical Lectures, XXVII)*; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954), takes as its point of departure the famous remarks on poetry

6. See Lesky's summary, *AAHG* 5 (1952) 134.

7. = chap. 13, p. 1453, col. a, lines 12-17 Bekker.

and history in chapter 9 of the *Poetics*. Gomme's third chapter offers thoughts on "Some Problems in A.'s *Poetics*."

D. M. Pippidi, "A. et Thucydide," *Mélanges Marouzeau* (Paris 1948) 483-490, suggests an answer to the puzzling question how Aristotle, who must have known Thucydides, could deny all philosophical character to history: he considered Thucydides' book an essay in political philosophy rather than a historical work.

See also below, under 7, references to Ullman, Sweet, and De Lacy.

#### e. Miscellaneous

R. McKeon's essay on a "A.'s Conception of Language and the Arts of Language," *CP* 41 (1946) 193-206 and 42 (1947) 21-50, is reprinted in *Critics and Criticism* (see below under 7).

Luigi Pareyson, "Il Verisimile nella Poetica di A.," *Univ. di Torino, Pubbl. della Fac. di Lett. e Filos.* 2 (1950), fasc. 2, distinguishes four meanings of *eikos* in the *Poetics*: the 'probable' (1) as similar to historical fact, (2) as coherence, (3) as character ('universal'), and (4) as the credible (what a listener can be persuaded to believe).

H. C. Baldry, "A. and the Dramatization of Legend," *CQ*, N. S., 4 (1954) 151-157, in an interesting analysis, shows that Aristotle grants the tragic poet much more creative freedom than is generally recognized. He may use *ta genomena onomata*, but is to make the tragic events *hoia an genoto*.

T. B. L. Webster, "Plato and A. as Critics of Greek Art," *Symb. Osl.* 29 (1952) 8-23, emphasizes the close *rappor*t between thinkers and artists in fourth-century Athenian society and cites parallels in art for the two philosophers' differing conceptions of *mimēsis*.

A. H. Gilbert, *AJP* 70 (1949) 56-64, argues that in the *Poetics* the term *epeisodion* twice means 'act' or 'scene', otherwise "any action that is a subordinate but necessary component of the integral action of the play."

H. E. Mierow, *CJ* 41 (1945-46) 122-124, defends Aristotle's judgment of Aeschylus and Sophocles against Schmid.

I have not seen G. Thiele\*, "Problemas de anagnorisis en la lit. griega," *Anales del Inst. de Lit. Clás.* (Buenos Aires) 2 (1944) 61-180; I. Fernando Cruz\*, "Reflexiones sobre la Poet. di A.: El tema de la unidad," *Rev. de Estud. Clás.*

(Mendoza) 1 (1944) 87-110; or A. Plebe\*, *La teoria del comico, da A. a Plutarco* (Turin 1952).

In an important article, "Fourth Century Tragedy and the Poetics," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 294-308, T. B. L. Webster marshals evidence to show that the *Poetics* reflects fourth-century—more specifically, mid-fourth-century—tastes in tragedy, and speaks out (pp. 307-308) for an early date for the work, around or before 350.

Finally, we may mention here three other articles concerning Aristotelian works on literature outside the *Poetics*. L. Alfonsi, "Sul *Peri poietōn* di A.," *RFIC*, N. S., 20 (1942) 193-200, assigns fr. 676 Rose to the second book of the dialogue and discusses the history of the elegy. E. A. Thompson, "Neophron and Euripides' *Medea*," *CQ* 38 (1944) 10-14, and A. Colonna, "Testimonianza aristotelica su Neofrone?," *Dioniso* 13 (1950) 36-41, agree that the notice in *Hypoth. Eur. Med.*, that Neophron's *Medea* preceded Euripides' play, is authentic, i.e., does in fact go back to Dicaearchus and/or Aristotle. Thompson points to several features of the Euripidean play which the notice helps to explain.

#### 6. Notes on Individual Passages<sup>8</sup>

1. 47a28-b9. S. M. Pitcher, *AJP* 65 (1944) 340-353, proposes to retain *epopoia* and understand it as 'Wortdichtung', i.e., all poetry without music. He also argues that the primary division in chapter 1 is between poetry with and poetry without musical accompaniment. Both theses are energetically combated by F. W. Householder, Jr., *AJP* 66 (1945) 266-278.

1. 47a29. R. G. Hoerber, *CB* 29 (1952) 9. *Logoi psiloi* refers to prose, not poetry.

2. 48a12-13. F. W. Householder, Jr., *CP* 39 (1944) 1-9, contributes a lexical note on the history and meanings of the word-group *parōidōs, parōidia, etc.*

*Ibid.* G. Pianko\*, *Charisteria Th. Sinko* (Warsaw 1951) 255-260. Parody goes back as far as Hippoanax and even Homer; but Aristotle regards Hegemon as the first to make it an actual literary genre.

4. 48b8-19. H. L. Tracy, *CP* 41 (1946) 43-46, ascribes the intellectual part of the aesthetic pleasure to the integration we perform as listeners.

8. In this section, and occasionally elsewhere, in order to save space, the titles of articles have been omitted where they did not seem essential. For the form of citation of passages see note 7.

ers or spectators in co-ordinating artistic data. Parallels are cited from Plutarch and Cicero.

4. 48b34-36. R. van Pottelbergh\*, *L'Antiquité Classique* 10 (1941) 83-88, discusses the apparent contradictions in A.'s appraisal of Homer.

4. 49a12-14. The brief mention of the *exarchoi* etc., is still—for better or worse—generally regarded as the prime ancient text for the origin of tragedy, and all treatments of the subject, e.g., Mario Untersteiner, *Le origini della tragedia* (Milan 1942), necessarily adopt a position towards it. See Lesky's *Forschungsberichte*, referred to above under 1.

4. 49a16-17. The present reporter argued in *TAPA* 76 (1945) 1-10 for a new conception of the original use of the word *hypokritēs* in the drama, and of the process of expansion of the tragic acting company. A. C. Schlesinger, *CP* (1951) 32-33, suggests as a corollary that Aristotle gives no support to the theory that the tragic actors were limited to three.

5. 49b12-14. O. J. Todd, "One Circuit of the Sun: A Dilemma," *Roy. Soc. of Canada, Proc. and Trans.*, ser. 3, vol. 36 (1942), sec. 2, 119-132, shows that the tragic poets appear to pay little heed to the alleged duration ('dramatic time') of the action. He suggests that the vocabulary of the *Poetics* is essentially non-technical, so that *periodon hēliou* probably means the visible transit of the sun.

7. 50b36-39. W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemos.*, 4th ser., 2 (1949) 294-298, cites evidence for the general Greek predisposition in favor of magnitude (largeness) as an element of beauty.

9. 51b21. C. Corbato, *Dioniso* 11 (1948) 163-172, argues for *Antheus* as the title of Agathon's play. The subject was a romantic one and was treated again by Alexander Aetolus in his *Apollo*.

11. 52a22-29. I. M. Glanville, *CQ* 41 (1947) 73-78, reports and expands on a happy suggestion by Cornford, that *kathaper eirētai*, a23, refers to *para tēn doxan di' allēla*, 9. 52a4.

12. 52b23. A. M. Dale, "Stasimon and Hyporcheme," *Eranos* 48 (1950) 14-20, explains 'stasimon' as a song delivered after the chorus has reached its position (*stasis, statio*) in the orchestra. 'Hyporcheme', as applied to the drama, is a figment of the grammarians, invented after 'stasimon' had been misunderstood as a 'motionless' song, i.e., one without dancing. Incidentally, Miss Dale accepts chapter 12 as genuine.

15. 54a20-21. A. W. Gomme, *CQ*, N. S., 4 (1954) 46-49, attacks the interpretation "even a woman." The *kai*'s (*kai gar . . . kai*) are correlative: "for both . . . and . . ." *Holōs* means "in general," not "altogether."

15. 54b1. M. P. Cunningham, "Medea *apo mēchanēs*, *CP* 49 (1954) 151-160, comments on Aristotle's attitude towards *opsis* and interprets Medea's appearance at the end of the play as a quasi- or apparent apotheosis.

15. 54b14. M. T. Herrick, *CP* 40 (1945) 248-249. *Achillea agathon* was the prevailing reading during the Renaissance and down to 1895.

17. 55b7-8. L. A. Mackay, *AJP* 75 (1954) 300-302. Read *rō δὲ ὅτι ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Θεός ἐλθεῖν ἔκει* *καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν, ξέω τοῦ καθόλου καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τι δὲ* [*Ἐξω τοῦ μόθου*].

18. 56al. W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemos.*, 3rd ser., 12 (1945) 241-257, combats the thesis of S. E. Bassett (*Class. Stud. Pres. to Edward Capps* [Princeton 1936] 3-13) and L. A. Post (*TAPA* 69 [1938] 1-18) that *ēthikē* means 'moral' tragedy, i.e., the kind in which virtue triumphs. It denotes simply plays in which the element of character is prominent.

18. 56a2. L. A. Post, *TAPA* 78 (1947) 242-251, maintains his previous view of *ēthikē* against Verdenius (see preceding item), and proposes *onkos* for the fourth kind of tragedy. A. H. Gilbert, *AJP* 68 (1947) 363-381, proposes *noēsis*, tragedy of thought, for the fourth kind; the *Prometheus* is analyzed as an example.

18. 56a8. L. A. Mackay, *loc. cit.* Read *ou men isōs tōi mythōi; tauto de, etc.*

20. 57a22. W. B. Stanford, *CR* 56 (1942) 72. For *badize* read *badizete*.

22. 58b12. J. A. Notopoulos, *CP* 37 (1942) 195. Read *to de metrion koinon hapantōn esti tōn metrōn*.

22. 58b25-30. A. C. Moorhouse, *CQ* 41 (1947) 31-45, annotates the history and connotations of *oligos* and *mikros*. The latter is basically an 'affective' word, the former a neutral and colorless one.

22. 59a5-8. W. C. Greene, *CW* 39 (1946) 94-95, considers A.'s view of metaphor and argues against A. E. Housman's dictum that metaphor is "inessential to poetry."

24. 60a29-30 (and 15. 54b6). S. C. Manginas\*, *Platon* 1 (1949) 229-241. What A. says about the plot of the *Oedipus Rex* is also applicable to the *Seven Against Thebes*.

25. 60b16-18. R. C. Flickinger, *PQ* 19 (1940) 321-327. Read προελέποι μαμήσασθαι <μὴ δρθῶς δι’> ἀδυνατίαν . . . εἰ δὲ τῷ <δρθῶς> προελέσθαι μὴ δρθῶς <έμαμήσαντο>. The corruptions arose in an archetype which had 15-20 letters per line.

25. 61b20. R. A. Browne, "Medea-Interpretations," *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto 1952) 76-77, defends the Aegeus scene in the *Medea* against Aristotle's condemnation.

26. 62a7. J. O. Thomson, *CR*, N. S., 1 (1951) 3-4. Sosistratus may be identical with the Sosistratus of Juvenal 10. 173-178.

### 7. Influence

B. L. Ullman, "History and Tragedy," *TAPA* 73 (1942) 25-53, argues against Ed. Schwartz's widely accepted thesis that the "tragical history" of the Hellenistic period was a Peripatetic creation, on the ground that according to genuine Peripatetic (Aristotelian) doctrine tragedy and history are incompatible. Ullman ascribes the new genre rather to the influence of Isocrates. (This has been questioned, e.g., by Brink [see below], p. 24 n. 6.) Observations also on Polybius and Cicero, among others.

W. E. Sweet, *CW* 44 (1950-51) 179-181, esp. 179, argues the view that Demetrius of Phaleron, in Plutarch's biography, "is the protagonist in a tragedy which conforms to the Aristotelian canon in every respect," and that Plutarch's source for this element in his work was (indirectly) Duris. But see also P. De Lacy, "Biography and Tragedy in Plutarch," *AJP* 73 (1952) 159-171, esp. 168-171, which finds the *Demetrius* a Platonic rather than an Aristotelian tragedy.

Paola Venini, "Tragedia e storia in Polibio," *Dioniso* 14 (1951) 54-61, alleges traces of direct knowledge of the *Poetics* in Polybius.

K. O. Brink, "Callimachus and A.: An Inquiry into Callimachus' *Pros Praxiphanen*," *CQ* 40 (1946) 11-26. The work in question was a screed "Against Praxiphanes" and particularly attacked the Peripatetic concept of the Long Epic. Callimachus was not an Aristotelian, as has been alleged. Pp. 19-20 give a new edition of the fragments of Praxiphanes, pp. 22-25 an account of his life and his literary and grammatical activities.

F. Mehmel, *Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius* (Hamb. *Beitr. z. Alt.-wiss.* 1; Hamburg 1940) 17-24 ("Ap. und die Arist. Poetik"). Traces of

indirect but significant influence of the *Poetics* in Apollonius.

A. Cordier, "Mots mutilés et sectionnés dans Ennius: Ennius justifié par A.," *Mélanges Ernout* (Paris 1940) 89-96. Words like *do*, *cael*, *gau*, and adventurous tmeses like *cere-communit-brum*, could be justified by Aristotelian doctrine, which Ennius might have known through Neoptolemus of Parium.

A. H. Gilbert and H. L. Snuggs, "On the Relation of Horace to A. in Literary Criticism," *JEGP* 46 (1947) 233-247. The Renaissance believed implicitly that there was no conflict between Horatian doctrine, especially the notion of 'delightful teaching', and that of A.; and see M. T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism*, 1531-1555 (*Univ. of Ill. Studies in Language and Literature*, XXXII. 1; Urbana 1946).

Bernard Weinberg, a member of the "Chicago group," has written a series of studies of Renaissance critics and their relation to ancient critics, especially Aristotle: "Scaliger versus A. on Poetics," *Mod. Philol.* 39 (1941-42) 337-360; "The Poetic Theories of Minturno," *Studies in Honor of F. W. Shipley* (Wash. Univ. Stud., N. S., *Lang. and Lit.*, xiv; St. Louis 1942) 101-129; "Robortello on the *Poetics*," *Critics and Criticism* (see below) 319-348; "Castelvetro's Theory of Poetics," *ibid.* 349-371.

E. C. Riley,\* "The Dramatic Theories of Don Jusepe Antonio Gonzalez de Salas: Salas and the *Poetics*," *Hisp. Rev.* 19 (1951) 183-203.

Eugène Vinaver, *Racine: Principes de la tragédie en marge de la Poétique d'A.* (Paris 1951), presents interesting evidence, in the form of marginal notes in a copy of the *Poetics*, for Racine's close study of the work.

Max Kommerell, *Lessing und A.: Untersuchungen über die Theorie der Tragödie* (Frankf. Wiss. Beitr. z. Kulturwiss., II; Frankfurt 1940), gives a far-reaching interpretation of Lessing's war on French classicism, especially Corneille, and the relation of both to Aristotle, with extensive essays on the latter's theory in itself.

The current position of "Aristotelianism" in American criticism is particularly illuminated<sup>9</sup> by what may be regarded as a manifesto of the so-called "Chicago school," the volume *Critics and Criticism* (Chicago 1952), edited and with

9. As was said above, I have not attempted a complete report on all allusions to A. in current criticism.

an introduction by Ronald S. Crane. It contains papers by Crane, McKeon, Elder Olson, W. R. Keast, Bernard Weinberg, and Norman Maclean. See John Crowe Ransom's review entitled "Humanism at Chicago," *Kenyon Rev.* 14 (1952) 647-659, with W. C. Booth's reply and Ransom's counter-rebuttal, *ibid.* 15 (1953) 299-304; and the earlier exchange between H. Trowbridge and Ransom, *Sewanee Rev.* 52 (1944) 537-555 and 556-571.

Two further evidences of the perennial vitality of Aristotle's thought should be mentioned. In "A 'Dramatistic' View of 'Imitation,'" *Accent* 12 (1952) 229-241, Kenneth Burke gives "an excerpt from a much longer essay concerned with the 'carving out' of a Poetics, and taking A.'s treatise as its point of departure." And the informing ideas of Francis Fergusson's *The Idea of a Theatre* (Princeton 1949; reprinted, 1953, as a Doubleday Anchor pocket book) are the closely affiliated concepts of the drama as an 'imitation of an action' and of the 'tragic rhythm of action' and the 'histrionic sensibility', all derived in the first instance from Aristotle and Sophocles. There are signs, then, that the *Poetics* is again being read, in our day, as a living guide to the theory and the practice of literature.

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## REVIEWS

### *Der Aufbau von Sallusts Bellum Jugurthinum.*

BY KARL BÜCHNER. ("Hermes, Einzelschriften," Heft 9.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1953. Pp. viii, 104. DM 9.

Ancient critics recognized that Sallust's style was carefully elaborated; among modern scholars his emphasis on the dramatic aspects of action and character has elicited numerous and varied analyses of his techniques and estimates of his worth as an artist and an historian. Reitzenstein went to the extreme of finding the organization of a five-act drama in his monographs; others, like Latte, corrected this and other points, recognizing that he avoided some of the more extreme tendencies which hellenistic historians borrowed from tragedy. In the present work we have a fresh, detailed, and thoughtful analysis

of the form and construction of the *BJ* which will be studied with profit by all students of Sallustian problems.

In the present state of our historical tradition, the author holds, the purposes of Sallust can best be ascertained by a philological study of the form and construction of his works, particularly the *BJ*, in which his artistic command of his material is mature. A chapter is devoted to a detailed analysis of each of the four main divisions of the action: one to the background and the steps which led to Roman intervention in Numidia, one to the outbreak of the war and to the campaigns of the first two years, one to the command of Metellus, and one to the command of Marius. In the *BJ* each of these sections is divided from its successor by an excursus, and within each is found a carefully constructed series of dramatic scenes, vividly described, with dominating themes, foreshadowing of future motives, climax and contrast; and a striking portrayal of leading characters in whom Sallust's conception of *virtus* vitiated by a moral flaw regularly finds examples. As a result we find imposed upon the material a carefully balanced dramatic scheme which cannot commend itself as a full and objective account of what actually happened but through selection, omission, and chronological vagueness has sacrificed strict historical accuracy to the author's purpose. That purpose proves to be not partizan but patriotic. It was not primarily to tell the story of Jugurtha, or to glorify a popular leader like Marius (Sallust is critical of all parties), but to tell a story inherently interesting for its importance and its variety, and above all to tell how the pride of the nobility was checked and there began a party strife which ended in civil war and the desolation of Italy. Sallust's art is deliberately interpretative, and aims at bringing out a *tiefere Wahrheit* in characters and events. Hence the errors, omissions, and chronological vagueness that make him a less reliable historical source. Later chapters discuss the *Catiline*, the earlier and less mature work, and Sallust's historical achievement in general. Two appendixes contain discussions of the chronological division of the campaigns of Metellus and Marius and the construction of the *Catiline*, respectively.

Much of the analysis is illuminating and should find acceptance. A sentence in Marius' speech (85.45: *quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, atque superbiam*) yields an important clue to Sallust's conception of three phases of the

war, and the themes of his presentation. Again, the leadership of Metellus is balanced against that of Marius, perhaps even to the extent of taking three incidents of Metellus' leadership, the battle on the Muthul, the siege of Zama, and the capture of Thala and balancing against them, in a chiastic arrangement of large extent, Marius' capture of Capsa, where the comparison is made explicit, the capture of the fort on the Mulucca, and the battle near Cirta. The effort to create this balance may well explain the large omission of Marius' activities between Capsa and the Mulucca. Yet the moral contrast between the *virtus* with *consilium* of Metellus and the *virtus* with *fortuna* of Marius, nor indeed the part played by *virtus* and *fortuna* in general, do not seem as clear as the themes that dominated the earlier portion of the work. Metellus at Thala did all that *consilium* could do, then went on to *vincere naturam*, and the soldiers greeted the rains as evidence of divine favor. Fortune did smile on him a little. At Capsa Marius surely used *consilium* (*omnibus exploratis*) but went on to tempt fortune and won. The account of the raising of the siege of Zama (61.1) does not appear to anticipate or emphasize a contrast between the judgement of Metellus and the fortune for which Metellus waited when he could make no further progress against the fort on the Mulucca, nor to justify the description of Metellus' attitude as "fast übermenschliche Selbstbeherrschung" (p. 54). Both leaders possessed *virtus*. Marius was more rash yet better favored by fortune, which corrected even his errors (94.6; cf. 92.2), not wholly a fault, since *felicitas* was an attribute of a good commander. Yet victory in the end was largely due to the skill and fortune of another.

By leaving the chronology vague Sallust passes quickly from Jugurtha's service at Numantia (where Scipio plays the part of the wise advisor, 8.2) in 133 to the death of Micipsa in 118, but Büchner is in error in positing a second leap from 118 to 111. Hiempsal was murdered in 117 or 116 and the new division of the kingdom of Numidia occurred in that year (Liv. Per. 62). Here Sallust is historically correct in treating the events which led up to Roman intervention as a swift succession. Nor is it certain that when Sallust disagrees with other items in our scanty and uncertain sources it is always an error due to his literary purposes. According to the Livian tradition Jugurtha fled from Rome secretly after the murder of Massiva, while Sallust has him expelled by the Senate. To B. this

indicates that Sallust wished to show by way of climax that a rising tide of popular dislike had forced the Senate's hand, but von Fritz, in a study<sup>1</sup> not cited by B., shows that, since Jugurtha came to Rome on a safe-conduct granted by the people, Sallust's account is probably more exact. The Livian tradition suggests, but does not prove (Oros. 5.15.9, *societatem*; Liv. Per. 66, and Eutrop. 4.27, *auxilium*), that the alliance of Jugurtha and Bocchus followed the capture, not of Thala as in Sallust, but of Capsa. To B. this suggests a displacement intended to emphasize the situation at the end of Metellus' command, but the alliance may have been arranged then with effective military aid possible only later. To B. the report of Sulla's arrival is delayed in order to preserve the unity of the parallels between Metellus and Marius; but it may actually have been late, since a large body of cavalry was not easy to recruit and transport. From Diodorus and Cassius Dio it is inferred that Bocchus had made his bargain to deliver Jugurtha before Sulla was sent, and that Sallust is merely creating dramatic suspense when he leaves the outcome precarious to the end. Yet Gsell (*Hist. Anc. Afrique du Nord* 8,255, note 2) considers Sallust's account more probable. The extent of Sallust's rearrangement of fact remains debatable and the conclusions regarding his value as a historical source less serious.

There is justice in the defense of Sallust against charges of political partizanship, or of bias toward leaders or parties other than that caused by his view of human nature and his inherent pessimism. There is no *Tendenz*. Yet the *tieferen Wahrheit* remains a kind of tendentiousness, and when it serves a definite interpretation it belongs with drama or a historical novel. In a paper on History and Tragedy Ullman shows that some dramatic treatment was usual in historical monographs (*TAPhA* 73 [1942] 25-53; not cited). How far could Sallust go and remain the *nobilitatae veritatis historicus* of Saint Augustine? Although B. has pressed some of his points too far, his analysis of the *BJ* is a valuable and illuminating contribution to Sallustian studies.

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1. "Sallust and the Attitude of the Roman Nobility at the Time of the Wars against Jugurtha," *TAPhA* 74 (1943) 134-168, esp. 154.

*The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides.* BY JAMES H. OLIVER. ("Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," Vol. XLIII, Part 4.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953. Pp. 871-1003. \$2.00.

The *Roman Oration* of Aelius Aristides has been increasingly studied during the past half century not simply as an example of a Greek public speech but as reflecting the generally happy condition of the Roman Empire under the Antonines. Professor Oliver now offers a critical text, translation, and commentary with ample introductory and supplementary studies which will long remain authoritative. He approaches his task from an unrivaled familiarity with the Greek world under Roman rule. Even a brief review of his study will indicate its significance not only for the historian of Rome but for students of classical literature, of Roman institutions and law, and of Greek textual criticism and epigraphy. The book is, indeed, far richer than its one hundred and thirty-three pages would suggest, not merely because of its scholarly content but for the purely material reason that the *Transactions* use a large quarto page containing two columns of type.

Professor Oliver first discusses the *Roman Oration* as literature. The speech followed a long tradition of praising real or ideal states. The ultimate inspiration was Plato, particularly in the *Statesman*, the *Laws*, the *Critias*, and the *Timaeus*. Aristides saw Rome as the ultimate "hegemon," the leading city-state in a federation of free cities. He also regarded her as fulfilling the role of Plato's "demiurge" by bringing order and betterment into the affairs of men. Because of this literary character, continues Professor Oliver, the speech gives more evidence for the attitude of educated Greeks towards Roman rule than for actual conditions and practices. He contrasts Aristides' idealizing admiration for Rome with the realistically mordant criticism of the nearly contemporary western historian, Tacitus. Aristides recalls, though he apparently did not imitate, the appreciation expressed some three centuries earlier by the Greek Polybius for Rome's mission to bring peace to the Hellenistic world, torn by rivalries and strife.

Since exigencies of printing forced the placing of the Greek text in an appendix, a translation follows these two introductory sections. The core of the study is a detailed commentary

both on the Greek text and translation and on the content of the speech. Space does not permit adequate praise of Professor Oliver's critical acumen. His feeling for imperial Greek enables him to emend conservatively and convincingly an often corrupt text. Moreover his wide knowledge of the Greek world under the Empire illuminates the vague and generalized statements of the orator.

In a fifth section Prof. Oliver develops the aristocratic character of Roman rule by commenting on Plutarch's denunciation, in his *Political Precepts*, of the leading men in the Greek cities. Professor Oliver gives historical examples to prove that these "protoi" sometimes became so powerful as to incur popular odium and even the formal laying of charges before the emperors. Two further supplementary sections make a notable contribution to the question of whether, how far, and in what ways Rome established a common law for all Greek states. In the first of these sections, he edits and discusses an inscription which preserves a revision of an Athenian law concerning the tithing and export of olive-oil. This revision was proposed by Hadrian, probably not as emperor but as a "nomothete" selected by Athens in the traditional Greek fashion. Nevertheless, such a reform of local municipal law could not but enjoy all the authority which Hadrian's position carried. If such imperial revisions of local law were common, they would have tended to harmonize and generalize the contents of municipal codes. The second of these sections contains revised texts and commentaries on a number of inscriptions and one passage from Malalas which deal with the securing of imperial guarantees for local endowments. Clearly one result of the financial straits in which the Greek cities found themselves under the Early Empire was that magistrates diverted the income from endowments to meet current expenses and thus to escape meeting deficits out of their own pockets.

These two sections suggest that the traditional view of "Rome the Law-giver" consciously over the centuries maturing and imposing a universal law should give way to the picture of a nation of administrators who legislated not from systematic legal concepts but in response to immediate needs and practical situations. The generalization of legal principles resulted in part from the tendency to follow precedent but even more from the work of jurists familiar with Greek legal and philosophic doctrines. Prof.

Oliver concludes that the theory of a common international law first arose in the fifth century B. C., when Athens imposed her laws on her subject "allies." In the Hellenistic period, the Amphictyonic Council was recognized as an international guarantor of *asylia*, the inviolability of persons attending sacred festivals and of sacred properties. Finally there survive sanctions by Hellenistic monarchs for endowments which afforded precedents for the Roman emperors. At the end of this long development, Rome achieved the full realization of the age-old Greek desire for international order and thus, in human affairs, embodied Plato's "world-Soul."

A full bibliography is followed by the appendix containing the emended Greek text and an index of the Greek words therein. There is also a brief index of passages interpreted and a few *addenda*. It may be regretted that there is not also a general index to a study so replete with such a wide variety of matters. Although there may be differences of opinion concerning many points in this book, anyone concerned with the Roman Empire, and particularly with its impact on the Greek world, will find therein a wealth of information, suggestion, and interpretation. In these days of difficult financing for scholarly publication in the Classics, the American Philosophical Society merits praise and thanks for devoting the bulk of the forty-third volume of its *Transactions* to two significant classical studies: Adolph Berger's learned and useful *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (part 2, pp. 333-808)\* and Professor Oliver's penetrating and understanding interpretation of Aristides' praise of Rome as *The Ruling Power*.

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## NOTES AND NEWS

The Forty-eighth Annual Meeting of the *Classical Association of the Atlantic States*, in conjunction with the *Pennsylvania State Association of Classical Teachers* and the *Classical Association of Pittsburgh and Vicinity*, will be held at the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., Friday and Saturday, April 29-30, 1955. The full program and other information will be published in an early issue.

The Spring Meeting of the *Classical League of the Lehigh Valley* will be held at Lafayette

\*Rev. CW 48 (1954-55) 17 (Hammond).

College, Easton, Pa., on Saturday, April 2, 1955.

Papers will be presented by Mrs. George Tyler, Moravian Preparatory School, "Greek at Moravian Preparatory School," and Prof. Clayton H. Chapman, Cedar Crest College, "When Christian Meets Pagan."

Officers of the CLLV for 1954-55 are: President, Mrs. J. Howard Worth, Moravian Preparatory School; Vice-President, Prof. Russel W. Stine, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Mary L. Hess, Hellertown, Pa.; Program Chairman, Prof. Joseph A. Maurer, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.

*The Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages* will be held at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, Friday and Saturday, April 1-2, 1955, under the auspices of New York University.

Among features of immediate interest to classicists will be a Demonstration Class in Intermediate Latin by Dr. John F. Gummere and the eleventh grade of William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa., at the Friday afternoon session, and a report on the "Relation between Classic and Modern Foreign Languages," Saturday morning. Other reports, addresses, and discussions include "Preparation of Foreign Language Teachers," "The Role of Literature in Language Teaching," "The Role of Foreign Languages in American Life," "The Place of Culture and Civilization in Language Teaching," "Teaching Aids and Techniques," "Foreign Language Instruction: Elementary Schools," "Foreign Language Instruction: Secondary Schools," "Foreign Language and the Teacher of English," "Languages and the United Nations." There will be a dinner session (informal dress) Friday evening in the Grand Ballroom of the New Yorker.

Chairman of the conference Committee on Classical and Modern Foreign Languages: Common Areas and Problems, is Prof. Barbara P. McCarthy, Wellesley College. Representatives of regional classical groups include Prof. John Latimer, George Washington University (CAAS), Miss Isabelle L. Brown, Valley Regional High School, Deep River, Conn. (CANE), and Miss C. Eileen Donoghue, Bloomfield High School, Bloomfield, N. J. Miss Emilie Margaret White, Supervising Director of Foreign Languages, Public Schools, Washington, D. C., President of CAAS, 1951-1953, is a member of the Executive Committee of the conference.

For further information and dinner reservations, write Prof. Germaine Brée, Conference

Chairman, 735 East Building, New York University, New York 3, N. Y. Those planning to stay at the New Yorker are advised to communicate directly with the hotel, stating their prospective attendance at the Conference.

The Seventh National Conference of the *College English Association Institute for Liberal Education and the Executive* will be held at Schenectady, N. Y., April 5-7, 1955, under the joint auspices of Union College and the General Electric Company. The conference director is Prof. Maxwell H. Goldberg, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.

"Foreign Languages and the Humanities" will be the theme of the eighth *University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference*, to be held on the campus at Lexington, April 28-30, 1955. Featured will be an International Relations Session on "The Problem of West European Unity," discussed by representatives of countries concerned. In addition, some two hundred scholars and teachers from throughout the nation will read papers, both academic and pedagogical, in sectional meetings devoted to Classical Languages, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Slavonic Languages, Hebrew, Biblical and Patristic Studies, Comparative Literature, Bibliography, the Teaching of Latin, the Teaching of Modern Languages, and Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Elementary School.

The 1954 Conference drew approximately 550 registrants (French 156; Spanish 132; Latin 123; German 100; Greek 62), representing 251 institutions and thirty-five languages and language areas (from Albanian to Zapotecan and from English to Chinese), from thirty-one states, four provinces of Canada, Austria, Greece, India, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Mexico, and Santo Domingo.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

ANDREWES, A. *Probouleusis: Sparta's Contribution to the Technique of Government*. An Inaugural Lecture [as Wykeham Professor of Ancient History] delivered before the University of Oxford on 25 May 1954. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. 23. \$0.40.

BIEBER, MARGARET. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*. ("Columbia Bicentennial Editions and Studies.") New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xi, 232; 712 figs. \$17.50.

GJERSTAD, EINAR. *Early Rome*. I: *Stratigraphical Researches in the Forum Romanum and along the Sacra Via*. ("Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom," Ser. in-4 to, Vol. XVII, 1.) Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1953. Pp. 163; 147 ill. Sw. Cr. 60.

HUBERT, C. (ed.). *Plutarchi Moralia*. Vol. VI, Fasc. 1 ("Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.") Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1954. Pp. xxii, 194. DM 8.80.

HUIBREGTSE, P. K. (ed.). *Xenophon, Anabasis*. 2d ed. Illustrations by A. A. Tadema. Groningen and Djakarta: J. B. Wolters, n. d. Pp. 260. Fl. 5.90.

"Behoudens enkele verbeteringen van ondergeschikt belang is deze druk gelijk aan de vorige" (Preface).

MARIOTTI, SCEVOLA. *Livio Andronico e la traduzione artistica*. Saggio critico ed edizione dei frammenti dell'*Odyssea*. ("Pubblicazioni dell' Università di Urbino, Serie di Lettere e Filosofia," Vol. I.) Milan: Tipografia Giovanni de Silvestri, 1952. Pp. 115. L. 600.

VAN OOTEGHEM, J., S. J. *Pompée le Grand, bâtisseur d'empire*. ("Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Mémoires, Collection in-8vo," Vol. XLIX.) Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1954. Pp. 666; 50 ill. Fr. belg. 400.

VAN PROOSDIJ, B. A. "Two Thunder-Clouds, Closing in Conflict": *The Meeting of Madug and Cobet at the Tercentenary of Leyden University and Its Historical Background*. Translated by H. J. Rose. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1954. Pp. viii, 417; 2 pls. Price not stated.

PLATNAUER, MAURICE (ed.). *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954. Pp. xiii, 431; 4 pls. 31s. 6d.

Homer: (E. R. Dodds, L. R. Palmer, D. Gray); Early Greek Lyric Poetry (J. G. Griffith); Greek Tragedy (T. B. L. Webster); Greek Comedy (K. J. Dover); The Greek Philosophers (D. Ross); The Greek Historians (G. T. Griffith); Greek Orators and Rhetoric (H. L. Hudson-Williams); Hellenistic Poetry (E. A. Barber); Roman Drama (W. A. Laidlaw); Late Republican Poetry; Lucretius (C. Bailey), Catullus (R. G. C. Levens); The Augustan Poets (T. E. Wright); Roman Oratory (S. F. Bonner); The Roman Historians (A. H. McDonald); Silver Latin Poetry (H. H. Huxley).

POHLENZ, MAX. *Die griechische Tragödie*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954. Pp. 501; 203. DM 50 (bound DM 56).

PLEZIA, MARIANUS (ed.). *Slownik Laciny Sredniewiecznej w Polsce: Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*. Vol. I, Fasc. 1-2: *A-Actor; Actoratus-Aequatio*. Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1953. Pp. xxvi, cols. 1-140; 141-300. Zl. 30; 22.

QUEFFÉLEC, HENRI. *Saint Anthony of the Desert*. Translated from the French by JAMES WHITALL. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. 251. \$3.75.

RICHTER, GISELA M. A. *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (for the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 1954. Pp. xviii, 123; 164 pls. \$22.50.

RHIS, P. J. *An Introduction to Etruscan Art*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. 144; 82 pls. \$10.00.

ROBINSON, CHARLES ALEXANDER, JR. (ed.). *An Anthology of Greek Drama*. ("Rinehart Editions," 68.) Second Series. New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xxvii, 398; frontispiece. \$0.95.

Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* (C. W. Mendell), *Choephoroe, Eumenides* (G. Thomson); Sophocles, *Philoctetes* (J. R. Workman), *Oedipus at Colonus* (E. H. Plumptre); Euripides, *Trojan Women* (I. K. and A. E. Raubitschek, A. L. McCabe), *Bacchae* (H. H. Milman); Aristophanes, *Clouds, Frogs*. (B. B. Rogers).

ROEDER, WILLIAM S. *Dictionary of European History*. With an introduction by HARRY ELMER BARNES. ("Mid-Century Reference Library.") New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. viii, 316. \$6.00.  
" . . . from 500 A. D. to the present."

SCHUHL, PIERRE-MAXIME. *L'oeuvre de Platon*. ("A la Recherche de la Vérité.") Paris: Hachette, 1954. Pp. 228. No price stated.

SEVERYN, A. *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus III: La Vita Homeri et les sommaires du Cycle I: Etude paléographique et critique*. ("Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège," Fasc. CXXXII.) Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1953. Pp. 368; 14 pls. Fr. 1000.

SKEAT, THEODORE CRESSY. *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*. ("Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte," Heft 39.) Munich: C. H. Beck, 1954. Pp. vii, 43. DM 5.

STARK, RUDOLF. *Aristotelessstudien: Philologische Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Aristotelischen Ethik*. ("Zetemata," Heft 8.) Munich: C. H. Beck, 1954. Pp. vii, 117. DM 9.50.

STOUT, SELATIE EDGAR. *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters: Notes on the History and the Present Status of the Text*. ("Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series," No. 30.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954. Pp. xiv, 272. \$7.50.

STRÖMBERG, REINHOLD. *Greek Proverbs: A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases Which Are Not Listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Pseudoepiographers*. ("Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar," Sjätte Földjen. Ser. A., Band 4, No. 8.) Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri, 1954. Pp. 145. Sw. Cr. 15.

SWEET, WALDO E. (ed.). *The Latin Workshop's Experimental Materials*. Book Two. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1954. Pp. x, 296. \$1.25 (paper) \$1.50 (ring).

THIEL, J. A. *A History of Roman Sea-Power before the Second Punic War*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954. Pp. viii, 367. Fl. 25 (\$7.00).

THOMPSON, MARGARET. *The Athenian Agora: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Vol. II: Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period. Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1954. Pp. x, 122; 4 pls. \$5.00.

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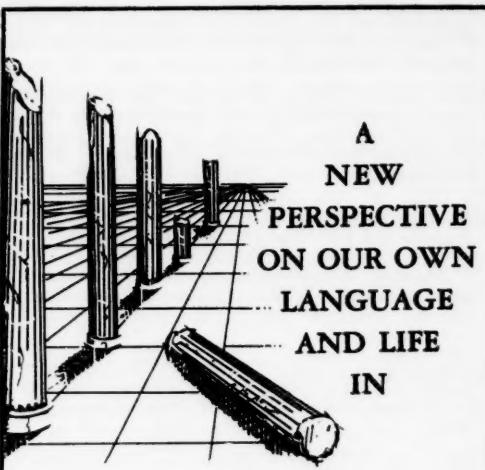
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UHLFELDER, MYRA L. *De Proprietate Sermonum Vel Rerum.* ("Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome," Vol. XV.) Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1954. Pp. 124. No price stated.

VELLACOTT, PHILIP (trans.). *Euripides: The Bacchae and Other Plays. [Ion, The Women of Troy, Helen, The Bacchae.]* ("The Penguin Classics," L44) Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1954. Pp. 234. \$0.50.

WARMAN, M. S., I. SUTHERLAND, and C. MACDONALD (eds.). *From Pericles to Cleophon: A Source Book and Reader in Athenian Politics.* London: Rivingtons, 1954. Pp. xii, 260. 10s. 6d.

WATTS, A. E. (trans.). *The Metamorphoses of Ovid: An English Version.* With the etchings of Pablo Picasso. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954. Pp. xvi, 397. \$5.00.

WILHELM-HOOIJBERGH, ANNA ELIZABETH. *Peccatum: Sin and Guilt in Ancient Rome.* Groningen and Djakarta: J. B. Wolters, 1954. Pp. xi, 125. Price not stated.

WOODCOCK, P. G. (ed.). *Concise Dictionary of Ancient History.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. iv, 465. \$6.00.

ZEITLIN, SOLOMON (ed.). *The Second Book of Macabees.* English translation by SIDNEY TEDESCHE. ("Jewish Apocryphal Literature.") New York: Harper & Brothers (for The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning), 1954 xiii, 271. \$4.00.

ZIEGLER, K., and M. POHLENZ (edd.). *Plutarchi Moralia.* Vol. VI, fasc. 3. ("Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.") Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1953. Pp. viii, 50. DM 2.40.

Contents: *De musica* (Ziegler); *De libidine et aegritudine* (Pohlenz); *Parsne an facultas animi sit vita passiva* (Pohlenz).

C. A. A. S.

SPRING MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

APRIL 29-30, 1955

(See p. 85)